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If you remain here as long as I do I will do myself the honour of paying my respects to You before I set out and with my most sincere wishes for Your health and honour and success in the administration I remain with respect and regard

Dear Sir

Yours Truly

CHARLES PINCKNEY

March 5: 1801

GeorgeTown

NOTE. “*Journal of the most remarkable Occurrences in Quebec 1775.*”

Some years ago I received from London a manuscript diary which was entitled “Journal of the most remarkable occurrences in Quebec, since Arnold appear’d before the Town on the 14th November 1775,” which I have only recently had an opportunity of examining. It is a foolscap octavo, 6 inches by  $3\frac{3}{4}$ , containing 95 pages and title, closely written in a uniform hand and ink, apparently at the end of the eighteenth century. The title gives no indication of authorship, but the regularity of the entries forbids the idea of its being an original. No clue exists as to its former ownership or history, further than that it was sold at a sale in London.

When looking into it, my attention was called to the diary published by the New York Historical Society in their *Collections* for 1880, p. 173, which at first glance appeared to be the same. A closer examination, however, revealed the fact that great liberties had been taken either with the manuscript or with the printed copy.

The librarian of the New York Historical Society, Mr. Kelby, kindly informed me, in response to my enquiry, that they had reprinted it from William Smith’s *History of Canada*, Quebec, 1815, Vol. 2, p. 81, and a reference to that book confirmed the statement. It is a most circumstantial account of the attack by Montgomery and Arnold on Quebec, written by one of the defenders, and I was therefore surprised to find another version in existence.

The manuscript differs from the printed copy in being more concise. The lists of troops, the condition of the weather and the direction of the wind are identical, except in the first list, p. 177, *N. Y. H. S. Coll.*, where a palpable misprint, copied from Smith, destroys the correctness of the addition. Smith, as Chief Justice of Quebec, and a loyalist from New York State, with some literary reputation, must have had access to many documents which have since disappeared. He prints the diary as a footnote, without note

or comment, adding to the title "By an Officer of the Garrison." The style of the manuscript is that of a military man; that of the printed copy is more fluent, and the expanded and inverted sentences bear trace of a more practised writer. The paragraphs which have been added or altered are not those which relate to matters purely military. The prefatory matter on the first four pages of the printed copy (*N. Y. H. S. Coll.*) are represented by barely two and a half pages of manuscript, while the following extracts will give some idea of the discrepancies between the two texts:

*MS.**New York Hist. Soc. Coll. 1880.*

Dec 4. It froze hard in the night. The wind is at W today, the air clear and cold.

The habitants inform us that the rebels are lodged in St Foix parish and in the parish of Little River none of them are much above two miles from our walls. One Jeremiah Duggan formerly a hairdresser here is now stil'd Major and heads 500 Canadians.

8th . . . A horse standing at Menut's door was kill'd by a cannon ball, a few minutes after Mr Montgomery got out of the cariole.

3<sup>rd</sup> Wind N. E. Snowy and cloudy. We may expect to be attacked, if what the deserter says is true. Capt. Malcolm Fraser of the Royal Emigrants in going his rounds between 4 and 5 o'clock this morning perceived signals from the enemy, he immediately alarmed the guards and picquets, who stood to their arms. All our sentrys saw flashes like lightning all around, those between St Johns Gate and Cape Diamond saw an avenue of lanterns set up on poles at regular distance. Rockets were thrown up and immediately a hot fire of musketry was kept up from behind some ridges of snow within 80 yards of the walls at Cape Diamond. The drums beat to arms, the bells rang the alarm, and in less than ten

4th. Wind at W today. It froze hard in the night. The rebels are lodged in every house near the walls. Jeremiah Duggan, formerly a hairdresser in this place has the command of 500 Canadians, under the title of Major.

8th . . . Mr Montgomery visited Menut's today. A few minutes after he got out of the cariole a cannon ball from the walls killed his horse.

31st. About four o'clock this morning, Captain Malcolm Fraser, of Colonel Maclean's regiment, in going his rounds perceived signals not very far from St John's Gate, and finding the weather such as the enemy wished for, by the last deserter's report, he alarmed the guards and picquets who stood to their arms. All the sentries between Cape Diamond and Palace Gate saw many and repeated flashes like lightning; on the heights of Abraham lights like lanthorns were placed on poles at regular distances. Two rockets were thrown up from the foot of Cape Diamond, and immediately a hot fire was kept up on those who lined the walls at that place, and a body of men were seen in St Johns suburbs and from the

minutes every person able to bear arms was in motion. Even old men upwards of 70 were forward in appearing armed for the defence of the Town. A party of the British Militia under Col Caldwell was immediately detached by Col McLean to reinforce Cape Diamond, as it was said an attack would be made there. There he posted the party and return'd to the Parade. Mr Montgomery attack'd at the same time at Près de Ville with 900 pick'd men, and Arnold attack'd at Saut au Matelot, with 700 chosen fellows, while the fire was keep up at Cape Diamond. A strong party ('tis said Canadians) appear'd in the suburb of St Johns—their bomb battery play'd on us from St Roc. Our guard at Près de Ville had perceived the flashes for some time and every man was ready at his post the gunners with lighted matches stood ready to give the rebels a warm reception ; tho' the night was very dark with thick snow, yet they were seen approaching ; a body of about 150 came within 50 yds of our guns, they made a stand at a narrow pass as if in consultation. Capt Barnsfare who commanded the guns watch'd the time and fir'd the instant they began to move forward, shrieks and groans were heard but nobody was seen after this cool discharge. He continued his fire nevertheless for some time.

flashes of the enemy's firing we perceived they were hid behind a bank of snow ; however, we returned their fire directed by their flashes ; during this sharp musketry the drums were beating to arms, the bells rang the alarm, and in less than ten minutes every man in the garrison was under arms at his alarm post ; even old men upward of 70 were seen forward to oppose the rebels. Colonel MacLean detached a party of the British Militia under Colonel Caldwell to reinforce Cape Diamond ; there he was to make the disposition of the men and return to the parade. Mr. Montgomery with 900 of the best men attacked at Près de Ville and Arnold with 700 chosen fellows attacked at Sault au Matelot. The attack at Cape Diamond, the Parade of men (Canadians it is said) near St John's Gate, with a bombardment from St Roc's were intended to draw off our attention from the lower town where the rebels were to make the real attacks.

Our guard at Près de Ville had seen the flashes, every man was posted before the alarm was given the gunners with lighted matches waiting the word of command. Captain Barnsfair, who commanded the battery, coolly waited the near approach of the enemy ; he saw a group advancing ; they stopped within 50 yards of our guns ; there they seemed in consultation ; at last they rushed forward to their destruction, for our grape shot mowed them down ; groans and cries were heard but not a soul was seen. However, we kept sweeping the road with our guns and musquetry for some time.

April 9th... Mr. Chaucer has said a great deal, we suspect that he came in with no good intention—he will be taken care of.

April 17th... The Press'd La-force to come on shore, but know-

April 9th... Thus far Mr. Chaucer has informed us ; he is suspected as a spy and will be taken care of accordingly.

April 17... They pressed La-force to go on shore ; but aware of

ing the Pointlevians too well to trust himself among them, he bid them adieu paddled on his way.

April 18 . . . Their speaker ended with a huzza and the three hundred heartily joined him. Immediately their drums beat to arms, these men were surrounded, they were ill used and confined.

Final. The rebels stole upon us and thus they left us.

Point Levy treachery, he paddled away with a "*bon soir*."

April 18 . . . Their speaker ended with a "*God save the King*," which was echoed by one and all of them with three cheers. Immediately these men were surrounded ; they were very ill used and confined.

Final. The rebels stole in upon us through the woods ; a dreadful panic seized them and they left us precipitately.

These extracts show that the diaries are virtually the same, and that additions and alterations have been made in the printed text. It is also quite evident that these changes must have been made by some one thoroughly familiar with the city and the story of the seige and able to add a few local incidents. Whether by the diarist himself, rewriting his diary in after years, or by Chief Justice Smith, is not now likely to be known, but the occasional ultra-loyal alterations point in the direction of the Loyalist.

JAMES BAIN, JR.